The Commonweal

A Weekly Review of Literature, The Arts and Public Affairs

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Published weekly and copyrighted, 1937, in the United States, by the Calvert Publishing Corporation, 386 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, February 9, 1934, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. United States: $5.00; Canada, $5.50; Foreign: $6.00. Single copies: $.10.

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NORTH CHINA INCIDENT

IN AN address early this month, Sumner Welles, Under Secretary of State, expressed the wish that it were possible for him to say that the dangers to peace which have existed during the past few years had greatly diminished, "that the portents for the future were hopeful, and that the governments of the earth, fully aware of the fact that a new international war must inevitably bring with it economic collapse, social chaos and hitherto unparalleled human destruction and suffering, had through wise leadership and statesmanlike negotiation averted definitely the menace of war, and had agreed upon plans and policies which presage an era of peace."

He was not able to render such a report. A civil war was, at that time, raging in Spain. The issue there has not yet been decided and the world is at the mercy of any incident, of any spark which may light the terrible conflagration of a major international war. Such an incident has occurred in North China and may have incalculable consequences. Another clash of armed forces in the Far East presents an issue that merits our immediate attention because armed conflict cannot occur in any part of the world today without endangering the peace structure of the entire civilized world.

It is well known that for months past troops have been maneuvering in the region around Peiping. An apparently unpremeditated clash occurred between Chinese and Japanese troops. A local truce was quickly negotiated in which both sides agreed to withdraw their forces from the zone of conflict. That truce was of short duration. Fighting was resumed and has, at this writing, extended to the very gates of the city.

Japan has made four demands on the Nanking government: withdrawal of all Chinese troops from the fighting zone; punishment of all Chinese troops held responsible for the recent outbreak of hostilities in the Peiping-Tientsin area; termina-

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tion of anti-Japanese activities in North China; support of Japan's anti-Communism movement. It has been asserted upon excellent authority that unless these demands are granted Japan, intent upon the economic exploitation of North China, will use whatever measures may be necessary to accomplish her ambition. While Japanese reinforcements and equipment continued to pour into Tientsin from Manchukuo, China prepared to mobilize all her forces in real earnest.

Dr. H. H. Kung, Vice-Premier of China, who has been in this country three weeks on an economic mission, asserted that China desires amicable relations with Japan. "But," he added, "she will no longer lie down and take it if the Japanese military in North China continue to employ aggressive tactics to occupy forcibly another piece of Chinese territory. We are determined to defend ourselves if defensive measures provide us with the only course to safeguard our territorial integrity and national independence."

Dr. Kung emphasized the fact that the Marco Polo Bridge region is on the Peiping-Hankow Railway where the Japanese Army has no right, legal or moral, to send troops to maneuver. He pointed out that when the Japanese sent troops to that region during the night for the alleged purpose of maneuvers, "they were obviously following a premeditated plan to achieve a definite objective. Even a casual study of the map will show that the control of the Fengtai and Marco Polo Bridge regions means the control of the only two rail communications between Peiping and the North on the one hand and Central and South China on the other."

China demanded, and we think rightfully, that Japan end the tense North China crisis by evacuating her troops from the Peiping area and halting mass movements of reinforcements to the front. The Japanese government immediately rejected the demands. A government spokesman further stated that Japan was unalterably opposed to any foreign intervention, and would only consider suggestions of international consultation. Secretary of State Cordell Hull told diplomatic representatives of the Chinese and Japanese governments of the hope of the United States government that war would not break out in North China.

The conclusion seems unavoidable that Japan is determined to achieve what she considers to be her manifest destiny—hegemony in Eastern Asia. In our opinion, Japan is the aggressor nation. China is fighting in self-defense. Will China, however, be able to check Japan's westward march of empire? The hope of many impartial observers that China will successfully meet the crisis is buttressed by the fact that the Chinese people are more unified than they have ever been in modern times, more alert, more progressive, more jealous of their own rights, more eager to prevent, if humanly possible, exploitation by any foreign power. It is buttressed also by the fact that national spirit is very high, that resistance to Japan has been growing steadily in recent years, that General Chang Kai-shek's Forty-sixth Army is well trained and well equipped, that China has a military reserve of 1,500,000 men. In addition, China possesses approximately 600 planes, the tremendous advantage of fighting on Chinese soil with the ardent support of all her restless and aroused population, and the support of world opinion in what appears to be an inevitable war.

Two great questions remain to be considered. First of all, let us rapidly survey the international field. Should the Soviets take a positive position and openly support China against Japan, will France aid Russia? If Germany concludes that it would be to her best interests to go to the aid of Japan, will Italy support Germany? Is there any truth in the rumor that Great Britain, soured by her Ethiopian and Spanish experiences, has sold out China to Japan? What will be the effect of the Sino-Japanese quarrel on the Civil War in Spain?

Then there is the national question. What will be the attitude of the United States? If subsequent events confirm the well-considered judgment of many observers and experts in Far Eastern affairs that a terrible injustice is again being imposed upon China, will we persist in our policy of absolute isolation and neutrality? Will we cooperate, or try to cooperate, with Great Britain and with other nations who hold firmly to the ideals of peace and the principles of equitable arbitration and do our utmost to settle the quarrel by peaceful means? If we fail, will we proceed promptly to wash our hands of the whole deplorable business? This much is certain, America will not be able to avoid all the dire consequences of the struggle now going on in North China.

We can only hope and pray that reason and good-will will be brought to bear upon the North China incident before it is too late.

Week by Week

The Trend of Events

OPERATING under seldom-enforced rules that no senator should give more than two speeches, each on the same subject, during any one "legislative" day and that a speaker might not yield the floor except when questioned, administration stalwarts opened the debate on the bill (S. 1392) to reorganize the judicial branch of the government by charging that opponents were disloyal to party and to the President. Senator Wheeler retorted that political pressure was being exerted off stage and

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in the wings to force the bill through. Senator McCarran, second member of the "battalion of death to save the Constitution," bitterly resented Postmaster General Farley's genial warning that Nevada might be passed by in the distribution of patronage if the Senator's opposition did not speedily abate. Senator O'Mahoney, former First Assistant Postmaster General under Mr. Farley, declared that he yielded to no one in his contention that the courts, and the Supreme Court, had usurped legislative functions, but went on to declare that "the cure is not for the Executive to usurp the judicial powers vested in the courts." Is the compromise bill a usurpation of power? If the courts, and the Supreme Court, have usurped legislative functions, how shall this undemocratic state of affairs be cured other than by President Roosevelt's middle-of-the-road policy? We hope that these issues will receive the undivided attention of all future orators. Following Senator Robinson's death, opposition leaders asserted that they had enough votes to send the Court bill back to committee but there was no indication that Mr. Roosevelt would abondon the fight.

DURING the World War period, the British government "viewed with favor" the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people. As a reward for fighting against the Turk, the Arab provinces were promised independence. During the past twenty years an unsuccessful attempt was made to reconcile these two irreconcilable promises. British policy in Palestine consisted largely in somehow muddling through. Arab resentment increased in proportion to the increase in Jewish colonization. Bloody clashes were frequent. The British government eventually appointed a Royal Commission of Inquiry to investigate the intolerable situation, and the Commission's lengthy report, dividing Palestine into three parts by the establishment of a Jewish state, an Arab kingdom and a British mandate to include Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth and a corridor to the sea, is now the subject of violent controversy. We do not believe that the present partition plan affords any real or genuine solution to the conflicting aspirations of Jews and Arabs. It will be submitted to the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations in the near future and to the Council of the League in September. Amendments are possible during this interval, but it does not appear that the British Cabinet, having accepted the proposals in their entirety and pledged immediate action to bring them into effect, will tolerate any basic or fundamental changes of a less radical nature. In that event we may expect to witness an intensification of unrest and ill-feeling in the Holy Land for many years to come.

IN THE midst of the most exciting, and likely the most significant, parliamentary battle of the second phase of the New Deal, the administration leader of the Senate, the man believed to be the most important link between the two wings of the Democratic party, died. When the Democrats took control in 1932, they, and it seems little doubt, the country, were lucky in having at the head of the Senate the man whom Vice-President Garner calls "a great statesman and one of the most efficient legislators in the history of Congress." Leading the Upper House during the depression required a man with many qualities, the qualities which made senators practically unanimous in desiring a chair on the Supreme Court for Senator Robinson, and the qualities also, we think it will be admitted, which brought such sharp words from those same colleagues during the current Court reform debates. A simply agreeable man, a purely political personage, a plain master legislator would not have been enough. The President says that "day by day, through long service in high office, he brought to the national councils the contribution of great learning and sound wisdom—a leadership inspired by courage and guided by consummate common sense and a devotion to duty given without selfish interest." The scope of Senator Robinson's political philosophy was undoubtedly restricted. His origin and training and the assumptions of his environment, social, economic and political, imposed limitations which he carried forward about as far as they could be carried while still being maintained. But at the time, the people were grateful for these limitations. They kept the familiar in the midst of bewildering change, and they did not prove to be crippling limitations. He died, President Roosevelt said, "with courage unafraid." Certainly he had lived with courage.

Senator Robinson

ACCORDING to a N.C.J.C. News Service dispatch from Mexico City, for the first time since the widely discussed Article 3 of the National Constitution was elaborated to include the idea of a socialistic system of education, the Department of Education has gone on record with a definition of such socialistic preparation. The socialistic school, we are told, is "emancipatory, scientific or rationalistic, technical, of socially useful work, defanaticizer, and integrating. The socialistic school pursues the ideas of consciences free of prejudices, wills free from the fear of Divine angers, investigators free of dogmatisms, men of science, fighters freed from the agents who take the strength, homes free of the enemies of domestic peace, and people who are free of all imperialism, spiritual or material." Countless Mexican teachers have been

Education in Mexico

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waiting for this definition for two years. For two years they have been trying to operate under a system that no one, apparently, had either the courage or the intelligence to define. It is quite possible that the present Mexican anti-God system of education, which stresses freedom from so many things, may eventually find itself embarrassingly free of teachers and pupils.

Master of Jazz

ALTHOUGH evaluating George Gershwin's place in American culture is difficult and is best left to learned music critics, anyone can truly say that it was a big one and one we sorrow to see vacant. "Porgy and Bess," "American in Paris" and the most-famed "Rhapsody in Blue" may not be great music with the deep quality of classics, but American feel they showed that Tin Pan Alley has a position often denied it. The very vagueness of Gershwin's place proved Tin Pan Alley's extraordinary popularity and "musical instinct" are not divided by an absolute barrier from great art. Mr. Olin Downes says, "A new step was taken by Gershwin for American music, a step that more pretentious composers were unable to execute." His most secure work was undoubtedly in musical comedies or light operas, and surely the Pulitzer award to "Of Thee I Sing" was appropriate. There, collaborating almost perfectly as always with his brother Ira who wrote the lyrics, and with the rather fabulous George S. Kaufman, he epitomized the Broadway mastery of entertaining, smart production. George Gershwin fitted into his environment like a glove, perhaps too much, but his talents helped form the environment and his accomplishments made him stand out from it. Fittingly he died working for Sam Goldwyn on a movie Follies. His rise and success will be called "typical" of the jazz age and its first transition, not because it was in the least usual, but because he was recognizable all through as altogether in the swim of it while being more able and more individual than the typical can be.

The Rational Process

THE ELEVENTH annual Institute of Public Affairs was bravely conducted at the University of Virginia during the two weeks following the Fourth of July. The educators and public servants who joined in the Virginia Institute persisted in presenting to the country the reasonable method of meeting problems. "The program will be devoted to a rational discussion of a peace policy, and a more emotional appeal will be discouraged." In the face of deliberately precipitated internal and international crises, back-breaking mobilization of military resources, world-wide propagandizing by anti-intellectual slogans, most involved and secret diplomacy and actual warfare in Spain, this effort of intellectuals seemed an almost embarrassing evidence of maladjustment. The institute is not, however, a mere escape mechanism for liberal intellectuals. Those who eliminate the intellect's qualities and potentialities and responsibilities are the maladjusted ones and they are the ones who are finally futile. The chest-beating prophets of irreconcilable material action should never be permitted to bully those who believe in reflective labor into giving up the struggle, relaxing their oppressive moral tension and joining the enthusiastic armies of simple physical power. Groups such as that of the Virginia Institute are now rather removed from social reality, but it is the social reality that ought first to be changed. Before problems are really settled, they must sooner or later be met by methods of sincerity and reasonableness and, as Dr. MacCallum said at Charlottesville, "with contrite hearts and chastened minds" and "faith in God" which "involves, as a direct corollary, belief in the brotherhood of man."

Seasonal

IT IS an established fact of human history that people do odd things in the summer. There is a school of thought which maintains that they also do odd things in the fall, the winter and the spring. But the specific gravity, so to speak, of human oddity does really seem to be heaviest when the mercury is highest; the phrase, "the silly season," rightfully has an accepted meaning as applied to the type of behavior the race begins to indulge in when it leaves off its woolens. The stock example given is sea serpents; they are almost invariably seen in hot weather—not so much, mark, because they come out then as because their observers come out then. But we need not confine ourselves to such recondite fields to prove the point. The newspapers are full of material. There is, for instance, the charge preferred in the Senate that Mrs. Roosevelt evaded the income-tax law. We do not question that the temptation to rake up such an (alleged) example of evasion was, in the circumstances, almost irresistible. But as Mrs. Roosevelt is a national heroine, and as she gave away the money involved in charity, the attack must be written down to the maladroit inspiration of the season. Or consider the soccer war between Italy and Austria. What can be said of the whole tissue of events, beginning with the Austrian player who thumbed his nose at his worthy opponents in the Vienna game, going on through the free-for-all which ensued, and finally winding up with the expulsion of the Austrian team from Italy by the Italian Premier, to the accompaniment of outraged diplomatic representations? What can be said of all this, except that it is the weather?

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THE PREMIER OF PORTUGAL

By PETER B. DE SOUSA PERNES, JR.

IT IS unfortunate, but true, that there is no need to stress the decadence of Portugal at the beginning of the century. One financial collapse after another destroyed its credit abroad; within the country, party politicians whose one desire was to discredit one another and sap the strength of the monarchy took turns in office. Such circumstances in Portugal itself did little to stem prevailing rumors of legendary maladministration in the colonies. Political Freemasonry of the worst type flourished and sheltered the activities of the carbonari who in 1908 planned the assassination of King Carlos and his eldest son.

The advent of the republic was no improvement. Regularly, year by year, revolts and abortive movements disturbed the country. Telltale bullet marks could until quite recently be seen in houses and monuments. A fierce anticlericalism shut down convents, monasteries and even churches, and forbade the wearing of religious habits in the streets.

At last, in 1926, General Carmona marched on Lisbon and established the dictatorship. It was then that Antonio de Oliveira Salazar first came before the public eye, but only for three days. Born of relatively poor parents in the little town of Santa Comba, educated by a man who gave private lessons in his cottage for about a dollar a month, Salazar eventually became professor of economics in the University of Coimbra. It was from there that he was called to take the portfolio of Finance in Carmona's reconstruction. Finding that he would not have a free hand in his policy, he retired to Coimbra after three days of office, thankful to return, we may imagine, to a more intellectual atmosphere.

To understand what Salazar has done, and more particularly why he has done it, it is essential to have some insight into his character before examining his achievements and his political thought. By his most fervent admirers he has been described as a saint; his enemies in England have called him a muddle-headed professor whose naïveté and ignorance of the world outside his own little sphere surpasses belief. All agree in recognizing his asceticism. There is no doubt, I think, that he finds his chief intellectual satisfaction in the mathematical manipulation of financial adjustments. Like all precise and severely disciplined minds he sees the beauty of figures. Truly can he appreciate the depth of Miss Millay's: "Euclid alone has looked on Beauty bare."

At the same time he is human and full of sympathy, because he knows well what each of those figures mean. As he sits calculating, adding here and taking off there, he reckons on whom the burden will fall and from whom a sufficient measure of sacrifice has already been demanded. From the experience of his early life he knows the poverty of the Portuguese people, and his achievements show his grasp of universal problems. He is indeed an ascetic. The house in the country to which he occasionally escapes is but an ordinary four-roomed peasant's dwelling, his only attendant a housekeeper. His private office in Lisbon is barely furnished. He is retiring, seldom attends public functions, and devotes the time thus gained to work. Many are the government officials whose comfort and manner of life are superior to his. Yet it is he and not Carmona who in practise governs the country; theoretically the head of the state can dismiss the Minister of Finance. But Carmona recognizes Salazar's ability, and entrusts to him the initiation of policy.

Perhaps the supremely prevailing trait of Salazar's make-up can explain this strange assemblage of power and asceticism, of cold reasoning and generous humanity. His faith. Those who know him testify to the value he attaches to it. It is an integral part of his life; he is one of the very few who succeed in relating religion to all the diversities of life. Portugal is fortunate to possess such a man, who can voluntarily take up a cause and persevere in it without regard to self-interest, who can perceive the relative unimportance of the trappings of his station compared with the welfare of a whole people, who can get satisfaction from the objective success of his task alone. He it was who openly said of the young men who gave their services to the government: "They must not expect for that reason to find themselves in a superior and privileged position." Again, a man who faithfully adheres to certain moral principles himself, and who acknowledges the universality of those principles, will not curtail their application by some metaphysical travesty of State power.

Lastly, what impelled Salazar to return to the government in 1928 was pride in his country's past, and the conviction that he could raise Portugal's international standing to a level worthy of its traditions. And I think that he has succeeded in rousing the Portuguese from their national torpor, and belief that they could keep their position in the world by resting on their laurels of five centuries ago.

Ideals, however, need to be substantiated by achievements, and here in brief is what Salazar has done for Portugal in his nine years in office.

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A series of budget deficits from 1919 to 1927 averaging $22,000,000 had resulted in a 550-percent increase in the circulation of 8-percent Treasury bills, and in over a 600-percent increase in the State debt to its official Bank of Deposits. In 1927, an appeal was made to the League for assistance in floating a loan of $60,000,000 for economic development and financial reconstruction. The conditions demanded by the Financial Committee of the League were considered by the government to be humiliating and the negotiations were dropped. Such was the situation confronting Salazar.

With a true knowledge of the Portuguese taxpayer's psychology, he decided to impose on him the whole burden at once, instead of spreading it over a period of two or three years. Basing his policy on the principle that all normal expenditure, including the service of an eventual reconstruction loan in the future, should be entirely covered by ordinary revenue, he estimated a surplus of $70,000 in a budget of $180,000,000. At the end of the financial year the accounts showed an actual surplus of $11,000,000, due to a great extent to a more efficient collection of arrears and a renewal of trade activity. About half of this unexpected surplus was used to reimburse completely the foreign floating debt. The coming of the crisis just a year later showed how wise Salazar had been in insisting on balancing his first budget at the price of greater exactions from the country. Hit by the depression the taxpayer would never have been able to respond to the government's extraordinary demands, however small, in 1930 or after.

Since then, every budget has shown a surplus. Accusations have been made that the Portuguese figures are falsified, and that in reality there has been a deficit almost every year, these accusations being based on figures given by the League. As a matter of fact, the League reckoning is based on sources provided by the Portuguese government itself. The disparity arises from a difference in method. The League includes in the expenditure all expenses, both ordinary and extraordinary, while it excludes from the total revenue that part of it which proceeds from loans, which in almost every country is considered as extraordinary revenue. Now, extraordinary expenditure consists, except in very special cases like war or national disasters, in investments of capital the fruits of which will be enjoyed in the future by probably two or three generations. If such investments are parceled out in time, or if they have to wait for a sufficiently large accumulation of surpluses, a considerable part of their benefits are lost. The only way, then, of meeting such expenditure and making such investments is by means of a loan, and such a procedure is entirely in accordance with the principles of sound finance.

In Portugal there is no income tax, its place being taken by property taxes. In view of the surplus budgets the urban property tax was last year reduced from 15 percent to 10½ percent, and a reduction from 12 to 8 percent was also made in the rate of the tax on the transfer of urban property. This in a time when tax rebates in other countries are hardly mentioned.

The interest on government loans, which was 6¾ percent in 1930, has now fallen to 3¾ percent. Among the numerous conversion operations carried out by the government, the most successful was the conversion of the 6½ percent 1923. Ninety percent of the holders agreed to convert into the new issue of 4¾ percent, the reduction in interest charges representing an annual economy of about $700,000.

In June, 1934, for the first time in the history of Portugal, floating assets exceeded liabilities by over $10,000,000. The total public debt has been reduced from $360,000,000 to $300,000,000. The rehabilitation of Portuguese credit is reflected in the 66-percent rise in the quotations of Portuguese government securities on the London Market from 1928 to 1936. Similar confidence is being shown in the movements of internal debt bonds.

I have taken space to quote all these figures because in spite of all his other unusual qualities, Salazar's chief claim to fame is his achievement in the realm of finance, which has been hailed as without parallel in the present and with but few precedents in the past.

Building on this solid financial basis, Salazar has not neglected to initiate and encourage social and cultural developments. Public works have been undertaken. Roads which were impassable in 1926 are now fairly good. Harbors have been built. Each year a certain amount is set aside to increase the number of hospitals and rescue houses. Old monuments and edifices are being restored after years of neglect. Industry is being stimulated and unemployment has been reduced to a technological minimum of 40,000 to 50,000.

In spite of these improved condition in Portugal, Salazar is the first to admit that, owing to the unsettled economic and political condition of the world and the poverty of Portugal, there is still a long task ahead. To quote his own words:

> We have succeeded chiefly by saving as much as possible in the expenditure, even by restricting expenses on services which in the interests of the community should have been developed. These restrictions are being borne by the social body, condemned to a very limited and humble life, in spite of the progress made. In the services of education, hygiene, social assistance and national defense, among others, less has been spent than was really necessary.

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Words like these can only come from a man whose sincerity is great, especially when that man has been in power for eight years and has so much to take credit for.

Salazar is not opposed to the parliamentary system on principle, but he is convinced that in Portugal it would have disastrous consequences. Both the recent outburst of the German press against American institutions and the blind support of the Spanish government by the large majority of Englishmen are expressions of a very old-fashioned tendency, the use of meaningless catchwords with no reference to their application. Salazar, at least, is level-headed enough to consider each case on its own merits.

The fact that a dictatorship has been established and has succeeded in Portugal does not lead him to vain acerbating generalizations. The odium which nowadays clings to the word makes it unjust to apply without qualification the name of dictator to Salazar. For in Portugal, although anti-governmental public meetings are forbidden, there is not the least vestige of restriction placed on private criticism or utterance. Salazar welcomes criticism, but ruthlessly condemns falsification of facts for the purpose of subversive propaganda. That is surely the least measure of self-defense that one can expect a government to take against the malcontents inevitable in any period of renovation and experiment.

On the whole, however, the country is well pleased with Salazar. Patriotic demonstrations of joy followed the failure of an attempt to assassinate him on July 5. Three years ago General Carmona, who, it was known, would retain Salazar as President of the Council and Finance Minister, was returned by a 95-percent majority in uncontrolled plebiscite; the franchise is based on the principle that the smallest unit that the State recognizes is the family; the vote is granted, therefore, to all who support or have supported a family, male or female.

As a rule, dictators have recourse to violence, or deification of the State, or both. Salazar, a practising Christian, has recourse to neither, and yet succeeds. Which goes to show that it is not the forms of government that are good or evil, but the men who govern.

MANY YEARS GONE

By J. G. E. HOPKINS

MY GREAT-UNCLE is dead. No newspaper chronicled his passing for he was not a very important man, except to himself, and he lies buried in the West, in a city many miles from the place of his birth. There were none of his own people with him when he died for he went alone on his journey westward long ago, and his lot was cast among strangers. We had letters from him now and again, short notes that told us nothing, no word of his decline, and finally the word from one of his associates that he was dead.

I have said that he was not an important man and yet he is important in the time of his passing. He is, in his way, symbolic of change and his life is an apt mirror of our national growth. Lifted out of his own humble way of life and surveyed as a unit American, there are lessons in my great-uncle, and his death becomes not merely the ending of a weary, old man who had experienced many things but the death and ending of an American chapter.

He was born during the Presidency of Polk in the full flush of our early national life, while debates were being held on the Texas question and tempers strained with the Oregon dispute. As a boy he played along the grassy banks of the Erie Canal, alive then with slow, steady cargo boats and packets that went peacefully by. The raucous, colorful life along the canal was typical of that buoyant, younger America, full of unashamed ambition and insolent with success. Englishmen were still anathema along the Mohawk Valley and the memory of the bloodybacks was still a living thing in those towns and villages. Children listened to tales of the Indians that were not spun out of books but were actual and real and the stuff of experience. At intervals, the trains would pass through the town, following close on their wood-burning, fat-stacked engines, and in their whistles was the call of far places. The peddlers who came with packs of needles and notions and wagons full of cheap china and wooden chopping-bowls and chromo prints were men from Connecticut and Massachusetts, sharp-tongued men with sharp wits. Catholics were not popular in that town but they were suspiciously tolerated and best of all they were let alone. It was a reasonably happy time.

They were few who thought the South would rebel. It would not be businesslike and therefore it would not happen. But it did happen and many a man went out from that town filled with the great, thoughtless anger of war, uninstructed in its causes but filled with the catchwords that breed conflicts, to die at Chancellorsville or in the Wilderness or in some corner of the Virginia mountains. Men came from across the sea to study this

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strange, bitter war of brother against brother as it dragged through four years of attrition: Frenchmen and Germans and some English. My great-uncle came home at last but he was restless and unsatisfied to take up again the round of peaceful duty. He was full of the vague spirit of change that great conflicts breed. Others were seeking new roots in the West and he went with them.

Once again came the sense of freedom and untrammeled life, for a short time at Minneapolis and then in Montana where new cities were building and men met men on common ground of friendliness and trust bred out of common difficulties. The American spirit was there in those new places, the thing of which Jefferson and the others had dreamed but which they despaired of attaining in the United States of their time, that little coastal group of states imbued with the class consciousness of Europe. After the first spirit of revolution against England had died down, came the revival and renewal of the old traditions. In the struggle to unite after the treaties were signed it seemed as if equality, political and economic, were to be the reward of the struggle, but the worm struck early into the root. There was always some sharp fellow with an idea or a scheme and the imagined Utopia went the way of all Utopias. Animosities, sectional, racial, economic, grew as the so-called prosperity of the nation grew; after unheeded warnings came the conflict.

The Union, threatened with dissolution, emerged from the Civil War in a hectic mood; the saddened and pillaged South dragged its wing behind the onrushing and victorious North. Industrialization went all the way; the factories discovered the great principle of peonage, speculation came out of the cellars and built marble palaces wherein to house, and the great Money Race was on, vulgarity, purse-pride, ostentation and ignorance cheering in the stretch. It was then that the American idea died and was never given decent burial. Someone quietly removed the scroll from between the eagle's claws that bore the legend, "E Pluribus Unum," and substituted a bit of ticker tape with the latest quotation of Union Pacific.

He was in Los Angeles then, my great-uncle, a small place unknowing of the glory that was to be Hollywood, and a friendly place. But the wandering mood came again upon him and he returned to Montana and the shadow of the mountains. Yet even there the curse had penetrated and men were building gaunt houses in bad taste, talking of prosperity and losing their souls. The Republican party stole an election for Rutherford B. Hayes who surprised everyone by showing himself able and a statesman. Garfield then and Arthur and Cleveland and Harrison and Cleveland again for a troubled second term during which the forces of money took a fine toss but reinstated themselves in the saddle under McKinley.

He was in Oregon when our great republic declared war on unfortunate Spain through the medium of newspapers and he paid little attention to the war. For he could remember an earlier, cleaner America and he remembered little, chance clauses of a speech that Washington made once at the end of a war and he still read Jefferson. Everyone seemed to have forgotten Jefferson, except around Election Day when his more jejune utterances made erudite bits of reference for political speeches, just as Washington was quoted in petto on the Fourth of July.

My great-uncle is dead. He saw the World War too, but he was already old and it cannot have meant much to him. Besides he was no longer surprised at what his countrymen did. People told him that the wheels of progress had to roll and that such quaint survivals as he would not be permitted to block them, had they the power which they had not. They were kind to him, though, as most human beings are kind to the old and helpless. I do not imagine he paid much attention to the events of the past four or five years. They would be at best only a further disillusionment for him who had known better things. The rant of Communism and Fascism, the struggles of faction, the alignment of class against class, classes, mind you, newly constituted out of the welter of immigration, the struggle of the usurping money power against an onrush of alien challenges, none of this would be important to one who had known the disappointment of his generation. For they had known, as he had, the little towns along unpolluted rivers, the youth and strength of our country, the great West and the life of an America that has vanished, so surely as its last survivors are entering with decrepit steps the one-way passage of death.

Replica

Love is the architect of every saint,
That with the seasoned timber of restraint
A high-walled temple rears, with worship filled,
And kindness, wine from sanctity distilled.

Here, Love, that builds men strong and women kind,
Gently removes the flowing blood and tears
From eyes that too much sorrow has made blind,
From faces darkened by a night of fears.

One on the way to Calvary slowly walked,
Who heard the rabble's shout, and saw a Face
That kept her silent while the others talked.
And suddenly the towel they watched her place
Within His hands was imaging her King
As proof that kindness is a holy thing.

SISTER MIRIAM.

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PETER DUNN'S COW

By T. SWANN HARDING

WHEN we hear the doctrine of States' Rights bandied about in the abstract—and it is continually being regurgitated by politicians—it would pay us to think of something concrete. That is the only way to tell whether we favor or do not favor States' Rights, and possibly Peter Dunn is as good a subject for thought as we could select in this connection.

In 1843, Peter Dunn was a milkman located near South Ferry in the city of New York. He bought a ship's cow from the captain of the British ship, Washington. That cow had an insidious and destructive cattle disease called contagious pleuropneumonia. It imparted the malady to Peter Dunn's herd whence it rapidly spread to other herds nearby. From New York the infection raced over into other states, paying no attention to the doctrine of States' Rights whatever. By 1879 the disease had become a howling scourge and livestock growers were thoroughly aroused. Long prevalent in other countries the disease was little known in the United States. Furthermore no large nation where it got a start had ever succeeded in stamping it out. Then on February 6, 1879, the British Privy Council issued an order that all American cattle arriving in British ports be slaughtered at the docks.

That order hit home. It forced the price of American steers down $10 below that of similar Canadian cattle. This alone meant a loss of $1,000,000 a year in reduced income from cattle exported to Great Britain. Aside from that, America suffered much heavier losses in domestic cattle ravaged by the disease. At that point the livestock industry demanded federal action because state action had signally failed to stamp out the disease. The various states simply would not cooperate loyally with one another, and the negligence of one easily undid the careful eradication work carried on by others. While the states refused to cooperate either in purpose or policy, many individual cattle owners denied the existence of the disease and sold infected animals.

By 1884 it was proposed that a new federal bureau be established to cope with the situation. William H. Hatch of Missouri, chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture, introduced a bill to establish a Bureau of Animal Industry to give federal assistance to stricken cattle growers. Opponents of the measure poured scorn upon it calling it "the horse-doctor bill." Shouts of protest were heard regarding the inviolate character of States' Rights. It was said to be an altogether improper function of the federal government to regulate the production and shipment of livestock, for this was purely a state matter. Congress was urged not to create a new army of job-holders and thus saddle a political junta upon the taxpayers.

Indeed, those opposed to the legislation went still further and denied the very existence of the disease in this country, the opinion of expert veterinarians to the contrary notwithstanding. But livestock men knew the disease did exist. They knew that it would be forever uncontrollable if it reached the herds in the unfenced Western plains. They demanded action. A rising tide of public opinion forced the passage of the bill.

What happened as a result of this new and devious experience in federal bureaucracy?

Had the disease spread here for five more years, the loss would have amounted to $1,000,000,000. But the Bureau of Animal Industry began an energetic campaign of eradication as soon as it was organized. The government taxeaters got to work. At a total cost of $1,500,000, the disease was absolutely stamped out, and there has been no outbreak of it whatever in the United States since 1892, when Secretary of Agriculture Rusk proclaimed the country free of it.

This energetic federal campaign most certainly saved our entire livestock industry from destruction. It was just as certainly an invasion of States' Rights. In the abstract many sound constitutional arguments could be made to show that it should never have been undertaken. But the concrete question is: Was it of value to the nation and did it promote the general welfare?

The Bureau of Animal Industry now had a staff of federal job-holders ready to eat taxes, to burden the people with bureaucracy, and to waste public funds. The first Bulletin this Bureau published in its numbered series bore the title, "Nature, Causation and Prevention of Texas Fever." The author was the late Theobald Smith, one of the country's foremost scientists. The co-author was Dr. F. L. Kilborne. This was "Bureau of Animal Industry Bulletin No. 1" and the date of issue was 1893. It is an all-time scientific classic and its beneficial results alone, if they could all be traced, would beyond shadow of doubt completely pay the cost of all the publications since issued by the Department of Agriculture. In addition, the value created by the knowledge in that Bulletin would pay the cost of running the Bureau of Animal Industry from its foundation to date.

Texas, now called cattle-tick, fever was introduced into this country in Colonial times from

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the West Indies and Mexico. It caused tremendous havoc in the nineteenth century. Outbreaks occurred not only in the South, where it was common, but began in the North as well. Oddly enough Southern cattle, though themselves apparently in excellent health, left a trail of the disease when sent North. Northern cattle raisers demanded government action—regardless of States' Rights. State regulation had again proved inadequate. The disease was getting beyond control. Public opinion demanded that the federal government step in. In 1884, Dr. Theobald Smith was placed in charge of investigations.

He naturally expected to find some germ at fault. What he actually discovered, with the assistance of his very able colleagues, was something else altogether—as so often happens in science—and it made medical history. First he found that this peculiar micro-organism was a protozoan (minute vegetable-like organism), a thing consisting of a single cell and reproducing itself by splitting in half. He showed that the ticks carried this protozoan at a certain stage of its development and, in biting the cattle, infected their blood with it. The organism destroyed the red blood cells of the cattle and killed them. This was a discovery of first importance in medicine.

Cattle-tick fever was all but eradicated by eradicating the tick. It exists now in but tiny patches of one or two of the fifteen states where it raged. While it was the first disease proved to be spread only by insect means, there are now known to be forty or fifty others. Among them are malaria, yellow fever, the African kind of sleeping sickness, and tularemia. It became possible therefore to attack these diseases successfully by the same general method. Pest-holes formerly prey to yellow fever and malaria were rendered healthful. Thus, in fact, the Panama Canal became a reality, for the French failed to complete it because of yellow fever.

But this is not all. About the time the Bureau of Animal Industry was founded from 25,000,000 to 30,000,000 hogs died annually from hog cholera. Dr. Marion Dorset found the disease was not caused by a germ, as supposed, but by a filtrable virus associated closely with a germ. This, again, is a basic medical discovery, for it was the first time a filtrable virus had been proved guilty of a crime previously attributed to a germ. The discovery formed the basis for much subsequent research in human diseases—smallpox and influenza.

Hog cholera has at times cost the agricultural industry of America as much as $75,000,000 a year. A very conservative estimate would be that Dorset's work saves the swine growers from $10,000,000 to $25,000,000 annually, depending upon hog prices and the virulence of hog cholera. The publication of these bulletins and the financing of this small group of government taxeaters has paid the country to the tune of possibly $250,000,000. The work of the entire Bureau costs but about $12,000,000 annually and this includes the financing of meat inspection, an enormous project, as well as of research.

In 1902, Dr. Charles Wardell Stiles, then a member of its staff, had his curiosity aroused by a specimen of hookworm sent in to his parasitological laboratory for identification. It was a new species. He went South to investigate and discovered the *Necator americanus*. This bug he proved to be the cause of much laziness among the Southern rural population. His discovery aroused both interest and ridicule. The press printed many smart cartoons depicting the crazy scientist and his "lazy bug." But, as a result of Stiles's work, sanitary and other measures were introduced which went far to raise the general social and economic level of several million people. Ultimately it led to a world-wide campaign against hookworm disease aided by the International Health Board of the Rockefeller Foundation. Again there was an unearned increment. For Dr. Stiles's work focused attention upon soil pollution as a possible source of disease, and other diseases transmitted by soil contamination were attacked successfully.

In 1921, Dr. Maurice C. Hall discovered that carbon tetrachloride would remove hookworms from dogs. Being a true scientist he also dosed himself with some of the drug, for he wanted to see whether it could be used in human medicine. He found human beings could tolerate it, and 15,000,000 or 20,000,000 people have been treated for hookworm as a result.

About 1910, Dr. S. Henry Ayres began his work in what was then the Dairy Division of the Bureau of Animal Industry. Ayres definitely disposed of all medical objection to milk pasteurization, proving that the process did not destroy the benign and helpful lactic-acid-forming organisms in the milk. It was the most important single factor contributing to the development of modern sanitary regulations governing the handling of milk supplies in the present day.

About 1920 the Bureau of Animal Industry published B. H. Ransom's work concerning swine that has greatly affected human beings. When Ransom started in, there was no effective method of protecting the American public from trichinosis so frequently derived from eating infected hog meat. He developed an excellent method for the destruction of the causative organism in meats usually eaten uncooked. Moreover, he perfected excellent methods of general swine sanitation.

So the Bureau of Animal Industry, sprung from Peter Dunn's cow, goes marching on. It gives concrete evidence that the abstract doctrine of States' Rights should at times be ignored, or even defied, if this promotes the public welfare.

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THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

By EDWARD A. FITZPATRICK

THE publisher's blurb says that "The American State University"[1] is a challenge. It is a challenge and more. The book is an assault upon the American state university. It comes from the heart of the American state university itself. It is written by a well-known humanist, Norman Foerster, a professor in one of the state universities, Iowa, and presented by the press of another, the first of the state universities, North Carolina.

The assault begins in the very first sentence of the Introduction, and words are not minced: "The American state university has progressively tended to subvert the higher interests of American democracy. It has devoted itself to ends that are not ends, to truths that are only half-truths, to services that have turned out to be disservices, to practicalities that have become impracticalities and absurdities."

Or more simply: "The state university of today threatens the health and security of American democracy."

To the answer that reforms have been attempted, the answer is definite. They have dealt "with the mechanism of education rather than its controlling spirit and ends." The reforms, therefore, the author thinks will assist rather than resist "the forces that are disintegrating democratic civilization." The changes needed are not changes in mechanism, but changes in "the realm of spirit and ends . . . a shift in our whole modern philosophy of education and of life." In education this is the fundamental change—the challenge to the philosophical base.

"These evils," the author reminds us, "have appeared not only in the state universities but also in the privately endowed colleges and universities, some of which seem to have vied with the public institutions in the promotion of demoralizing purposes. Private universities have also contributed certain leaders, such as Charles W. Eliot and John Dewey, whose influence on American education will one day be recognized, I cannot but think, as in the main misleading."

This is all from the Introduction to the book, with a frank avowal of its position. It is important that the Catholic higher educational institutions understand this book because there is so much in its intellectual position with which we agree, and yet too often at least some of the criticism may be leveled against us because instead of following our own philosophy of education, we have imitated the secular institutions. The president of the University of Chicago uttered with grace and charm at the meeting of the Midwest Regional Section of the National Catholic Educational Association the most devastating of criticism—we are not Catholic *enough*, we have imitated the bad things about the non-Catholic institutions, e.g., athleticism, and have done little or nothing about the good things, e.g., research.

[1] *The American State University, by Norman Foerster. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press.* $2.50.

The book is divided into three parts: part one deals with the "Foundations of the State University"; part two deals with "The University before 1930"; part three is called "The University after 1930." This third part has really three parts, the doubts and drifts of the transition period, the actual education of citizens attempted, and the positive teaching of the book with reference to "the education of men and women."

The basis of the state university is twofold. The political basis is found not as we had supposed in the selective Jeffersonian democracy, which hoped that "twenty geniuses might be raked from the rubbish," but in the equalitarian democracy of Jackson, which was to offer all kinds of practical education to all sorts of people. The spiritual base was found in a sentimental humanitarianism, which was a mixture of the sentimentalism of Rousseau and scientific utilitarianism.

It is in the congerie of the ideas of Jacksonian democracy and the emotional humanitarianism of the eighteenth century with its sentimentalism, the utilitarianism, its materialism, its theories of inevitable progress and of infinite perfectibility of man on earth, that the energizing forces, political and spiritual, of the university are found.

The result before 1930 was mass instruction which was accentuated even more after 1930. "Raw teachers faced the task of refining raw students." Practicality and vocationalism was the dominant aspect of education. The student passivities, meekly listened to, were the studies; the "activities" were everything else but studies. The students graduated, in Mr. Foerster's scathing words, "quickly merging into the mass of American life, undistinguished by superiority either ethical or cultural."

The ideal in those pre-depression days was "service and power." The great instrument for these ends was science, or the university perversion of science which Mr. Foerster calls "scientism"—a wedding of real science and naturalistic philosophical speculation. This criticism of science runs through the book, and toward the end is a keen analysis of the place of science in human life and in education. All science operates within artificial limits. When it claims final validity it ceases to be science. It is then engaged in philosophy and fails in these naturalistic moods to discriminate as Emerson does:

> "There are two laws discrete,
> Not reconciled,—
> Law for man, and law for thing."

Science is not the private property of naturalism, and there is no necessary connection between them. Science is a product of the human spirit, and belongs to humanism.

Although the age is supposedly a scientific age and naturalism is dominant, "all over the world," in Mr. Laski's phrase, "the lamps of reason are going out." Then Mr. Foerster says aptly that science is after all only a time table. If you know where you are going, science can help tell you how to get there, but if you know not where you are going, science is helpless. Nor is social science, rather than natural science, the solution, because social facts need interpretation and they are without significance unless they enter into the realm of values.

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With the new social and intellectual milieu after 1930, the basic conceptions and attributes on which the state university rested became suspect: democracy, science, and particularly economic science, and progress. The roseate promises of other days were unfulfilled. The comforts and conveniences science promised were nowhere to be found in the depression. The most practical of educations proved to be impractical—there was no opportunity to use it. It became evident that the relations of the mechanisms of education were not related to ends and goals. The mechanisms became ends. It became clear that the state university is at a parting of the ways.

"The time has come," Mr. Foerster says, "when social prudence dictates, not the fixation of our inherited idea of a state university, but a free and creative reconsideration, conducted in view of the permanent nature of man as well as the special concerns of the time, of what should be the rôle of higher education in a constitutional democracy."

Part of the solution comes in rejection of the Jacksonian for the Jeffersonian democracy. Education on the college and university level must be selective. The right to a university education must be based on a clear proof of fitness to pursue it. The supreme test of the university is what it does for the able student. The final test of a democracy is to produce and encourage superior individuals.

The key to educational reform, the author finds, in the college of liberal arts. In short, the way out of the mess the state university has gotten itself into is a liberal education. The liberal education in which he is interested is a part of the continuous historical tradition, the humanistic and religious tradition which dominated Europe before the seventeenth century.

The new direction which humanism proposes for the state university is (1) the fullest and free development of human personality in unilateral self-expression and not the confusion of personality and individuality, (2) the thoughtful assimilation of the best in past and present in both the sciences and in the humanities, and (3) the capacity to think, to reflect, to weigh, to judge, to discriminate. It is opposed to specialism, regimentation, to vocational grooves. It is opposed to overemphasis on departmentalism in college organization. It is opposed to education by textbooks which are more and more "the work of undisciplined minds, loose, nerveless, sometimes all but illiterate, especially on such fields as economics, sociology, psychology and education." It is opposed, too, to a curriculum "pupil purposed, pupil planned, pupil executed and pupil judged."

Mr. Foerster has done a service to the American state university—and all universities—in writing this book. It is a brave book, a frank book, an able book. It recalls the university to the claims of humanism in a period of drifting away. It challenges much of our practises and tendencies in higher education. It will strengthen that not inconsiderable body of men in the state universities who are devoted to the highest human and social interests, and who wish to make the state university a genuine educational institution. The various points made might also serve profitably for a self-survey of the existing practises and tendencies of our Catholic universities.

The Screen

By JAMES P. CUNNINGHAM

Knight without Armour

THE BRITISH CINEMA may well be proud of Alexander Korda's contribution to James Hilton's novel, which, despite some sharp contrasts in photoplay construction, in the main reaches artistic heights. Mr. Korda, and his distinguished director, Jacques Feyder, give a genuinely realistic picturization of life and incidents in Russia in the days immediately preceding and following the Czar's fall in 1916; but all too imaginative are the events in the romantic adventures of a reckless English secret service operative to rescue a lovely Russian Countess from the dangers of the fighting between the Red and White Armies, as colorful and tense as the perils of the desperate situations may be. Marlene Dietrich, appearing for the first time in a British-made motion picture, is beautiful, and Robert Donat is suave in his disinclination to overexert histrionically. The technical quality of "Knight without Armour" is high, the crowd scenes particularly effective, the comedy amusing and the types excellent, with considerable originality of setting.

Perhaps the general defiance of probability in the actionful romance was motivated by the fact that in the period pictured life was actually as improbable as melodrama. Certainly melodramatic is Donat's posing as a Russian in the interests of the British secret service, his banishment to Siberia, his release by the Revolution and his becoming an assistant commissar to a fellow prisoner with a revolutionary past. In this position Donat is ordered to escort a captured Countess to Petrograd, during which he falls in love with her, the while heroically protecting her from sex-hungry and bloodthirsty Bolsheviks. They spend days hidden in the forest, are captured and again saved, this time by the self-sacrifice of another commissar who also loves Miss Dietrich. The Englishman tricks a firing squad and the finis shows him clambering aboard a hospital train, in friendly control, carrying the Countess to safety. In all, the picture gives a vivid idea of the grimness that stalked life in those Russian towns which one day were machine-gunned by Reds, and on the morrow by Whites. It fairly exudes atmosphere, entertainingly.

New Faces of 1937

THERE seems to be a dictum in Hollywood that a periodical round-up must be made of all the laugh-makers and the song-makers of radio, stage and screen, for a backstage setting of gay music and plotless revue. That would explain "New Faces," a rollicking, frolicking vehicle of fun in a brisk succession of Joe Penner, Milton Berle, Parkyakarkus, Harriet Hilliard and such. Contributing nary a new idea, this lavishly produced musical is pushed forward on the sheer weight of its cast personalities—but it is pushed too far, running too long, and it sometimes is not overskilfully blended. The title is explained by the aggregation of screen newcomers, all of whom work ambitiously in the extended series of specialty acts, novelty dances and eight musical numbers.

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Seven Days' Survey

The Church.—Nearly 300,000 pilgrims flocked to the little town of Lisieux for the French national Eucharistic Congress, and the inauguration of the Basilica of St. Teresa, at which Eugenio Cardinal Pacelli, Papal Secretary of State, presided. Speaking to thousands of Catholics in France on the need for prayer, Pope Pius, through the medium of radio, said, "Let us pray that this world which is so troubled and upset and that peoples which are so oppressed by the miseries of today and so apprehensive of the morrow may be granted a little tranquillity in peace and order." According to those who heard his broadcast his health seemed much improved. * * * A Month's Mind Mass with congressman as acolytes and ushers, and also furnishing the music, was the tribute of Catholic members of the 75th Congress to the late Representative William P. Connery, jr., of Massachusetts. * * * The Catholic Motor Missions has inaugurated its third annual campaign of street missions to non-Catholics in the Diocese of St. Joseph and the Archdiocese of St. Louis. Missions will be given in July and August in the streets of 70 Missouri towns, about 25 percent of which were visited last summer. * * * Opposition to birth control and a denunciation of Communism and other un-Christian movements that have sprung up in American life were contained in the resolutions adopted at the seventeenth biennial convention of the Catholic Daughters of America at Bretton Woods, N. H. * * * Most Rev. Edwin V. O'Hara sounded the keynote of the Franciscan Educational Conference when he declared, "The greatest enemy of Christ is ignorance of Christ." Over 50 Franciscan educators from the United States and Canada convened the week-end of July 3 to discuss the subject of catechetics and religious instruction and their tie-up with the sciences in school curricula. * * * The Most Reverend Archbishop Amleto Giovanni Cicognani, Apostolic Delegate to the United States, will head a long list of distinguished prelates who will take part in the observance of the centennial of the founding of the Archdiocese of Dubuque, beginning July 28 and continuing for one year.

The Nation.—Senator Joseph T. Robinson of Arkansas, Democratic leader of the Senate, died of a heart attack during the night of July 13-14. * * * The National Industrial Conference Board stated that unemployment declined 600,000 between April and May. The Board's figure for May was 6,246,000, the lowest total of any month since the winter of 1930. * * * The C. I. O. announced that it was going to form an industrial union of 2,000,000 local government employees with a special rule, as in the case of its union for federal employees, barring strikes and picketing. The President had issued a statement in which he declared such a measure necessary. * * * The American Dental Association, assembling 15,000 strong for its seventy-ninth annual convention, faced, as the Medical Association just before it, the problem of public support for the masses who cannot afford proper care under present conditions. About 70 percent of the population now receives inadequate dental treatment. * * * Commissioner Helvering reported that during the fiscal year ending last June, internal revenue collections totaled $4,652,504,106, an increase of $1,132,295,725 over last year. Income taxes contributed 46 percent of the total. Collections in New York were the highest of any state, equaling $976,200,712.87. Illinois was second, with $405,150,742.63, and North Dakota last, $1,307,000. * * * The House overrode President Roosevelt's veto of the Farm Loan Bill by a vote of 260 to 98. The bill continues the depression low interest rates on government farm mortgages which, according to the President, cost the government $52,000,000 annually. * * * The New York City political situation threatened to upset seriously not only local but also national party affairs as Tammany searched diligently for a mayoralty candidate to run against Fiorello La Guardia. Senator Copeland, current favorite, brought the matter into the Senate debate on the Court reform bill.

The Wide World.—Both France and Portugal ended international control of their land frontiers with Spain. Great Britain prepared to issue a compromise plan to twenty-six nations in an eleventh-hour attempt to maintain the principle of non-intervention. Loyalists continued their drive west of Madrid. A counter-offensive by Nationalist troops is expected in the near future. General Franco proclaimed July 13 a day of national mourning for former Finance Minister José Calvo Sotelo who was assassinated in Madrid one year ago by the Socialist party's Assault Guards. * * * An appeal to all Christians to unite in opposing the anti-Christian elements of the Nazi régime was read from pulpits in Catholic churches in all sections of Germany. Confronted by an acute shortage of iron and steel, Colonel General Herman Goering, custodian of Germany's Four-Year Plan, recently declared a more rigid control of the present administration of raw products and foreign trade. * * * Vice-Premier Léon Blum predicted the nationalization of French railroads by August 1. * * * Three Soviet airmen completed their trans-Polar flight to the United States, July 14, landing at San Jacinto, Calif., and establishing a new non-stop distance record of 6,262 miles. * * * Opposition to the pending Amnesty Bill for World War Prisoners convicted of wartime treason was one of the principal factors in precipitating a Belgian Cabinet crisis. Premier Paul Van Zeeland's resignation was immediately refused by King Leopold. * * * Eminent Protestant leaders urged the necessity for the revival of a church militant before 800 delegates and associates participating in the World Conference on Church, Community and State at Oxford, England.

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The Court and Congress.—In the Senate they ceased discussing the origina Court reform bill, but from July 6, when the long "legislative day" commenced, they kept on discussing an "amendment in the nature of a substitute" for it which was offered by Senator Robinson and also an "amendment to the amendment in the nature of a substitute" proposed by the opposition Democrat Senator O'Mahoney. The sudden death of the majority leader on July 14 completely shocked legislative forces, and seemed undoubtedly destined to affect profoundly all matters before Congress, and first of all the Court bill. The debates were going on with unusually interesting parliamentary maneuvering. No one accepted responsibility for holding up other measures. Senator Robinson had accused the opposition of a desire and plan to filibuster, and the opposition accused Senator Robinson of trying to stifle full and fair debate. Measures held up by the senatorial jam were first of all the routine War Department civil appropriation bill. It was impossible to play responsibility for the stoppage of many other matters, as it was always possible that the Senate tie-up was being used simply as a pretext. The President and many others continued to ask for farm legislation. Advocates of housing laws did not completely give up, and the wage and hour bill and executive reorganization bill still had strong backing. Meanwhile the House grew much more restive. Representative Summers, chairman of the judiciary committee, was wildly cheered on July 13 for saying "If they bring that bill into this House . . . I do not believe they will have hide enough left to bother about." The House wanted to finish up and disband.

Apologia.—Governor Murphy of Michigan, rendering an account of his first six months in office before a state Democratic gathering, stated: "There has been effected the most notable contribution to the cause of social justice ever accomplished by a government in Michigan." He declared the state had emerged from a historical industrial crisis and was now "on the threshold of industrial peace with no major difficulty." The greatest achievements he believed to be the enactment of unemployment compensation laws, liberalization of the old age assistance law, an occupational disease law and labor relations act and sweeping improvements in the penal system, the state hospitals and the educational set-up. Claiming the strikes were "the symptoms of a vast social readjustment," he went on to say: "The record will show that all through the General Motors strike conferences we insisted, both orally and in writing, on obedience to the court order. When, on the day of its issuance, the sheriff asked for advice regarding its enforcement, we requested him to defer action for the moment because we felt a settlement was imminent. Five days later the strike was peacefully settled, sending a quarter of a million men back to work." He mentioned the United States Steel and Chrysler and Hudson and Reo settlements. "And all this, let me repeat, was done with no force and violence, no loss of life, no loss of civil liberty and, best of all, no rancor left behind. We stand for law enforcement. We believe in the protection of property rights. We believe in intelligent obedience to duly constituted authority. Without these things democracy cannot survive and personal liberty will be of little value to our people. But above all, we believe in the dignity of the human personality and human life. . . . If this democracy is to be saved we must somehow prevent the bloody clash of antagonistic interests in the industrial world. . . . because only that government which governs by the consent of those whom it was founded to serve can preserve human liberties."

Labor.—During the week the independent steel companies undoubtedly opened some previously struck mills, under conditions which were in most cases vague. In Ohio the union believes the National Guard forced them open with violence in the interest of the owners. In Massillon, two men were killed in riots and afterward the troops closed the C. I. O. headquarters and arrested 141 men. In trying to enjoin the use of troops in the Ohio steel strike areas, the C. I. O. claimed all this was police terrorism. The Youngstown plant in East Chicago, Ind., opened after forty-six struck days, the company claiming complete victory, but the union and the Governor claiming that there had been an agreed truce engineered through the Governor. President Green of the A. F. of L., which now claims 3,600,000 members, says that the steel strike has been lost by the C. I. O., currently claiming 3,000,000 members. Reasons given were that the union enrolled only a minority before it called the strikes and that it resorted to violence which antagonized the public. John L. Lewis brushed aside this "drooling from the pallid lips of a traitor," and Philip Murray, head of the S. W. O. C., said the strike was in "excellent condition." The Ford Motor Company stood trial before state courts where it was trying to defend itself against charges of having union men feloniously assaulted, and before the N. L. R. B., where its whole labor policy was bitterly attacked and where many charges were made that it violated the Wagner Act. Organizers testified that their best union argument in the Ford plants concerned "speeding up." In New York, longshoremen under the leadership of Joseph P. Ryan rejected a bid from the C. I. O. accompanied by personal overtures to abandon the A. F. of L. and accept a charter of the C. I. O.

Old Age Security.—The Twentieth Century Fund, completing a fifteen-month survey, offered a six-point program for improving the new social security system of the nation: "(1) Pay higher federal benefits. (2) Begin paying in 1939 instead of 1942. (3) Pay them to more persons. (4) Ultimately decrease workers' share of cost. (5) Substitute pay-as-you-go system with small contingency reserve for reserve fund method of financing. (6) Increase federal contribution to the states to make it easier for the poor states to pay 'adequate' pensions." The report recommends that the present "clearly inadequate" pension minimum of $10 a month for aged single persons be raised to $20. Last March the average state old age pension was a little less than $19 per month, ranging from $4.06 to over $31. The report deplores that

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almost half the population is outside the federal contributory system: employers, self-employed, unpaid family workers, independent professional workers, domestic and personal service workers, and 9,500,000 salary and wage-earners, including farm and public service workers and employees of religious, educational, charitable and similar organizations. The inclusion of all except farm workers and casual and part-time home workers is asked for. The hardship resulting from changes of residence should be eliminated. The wage tax should be kept as low as 1 percent and general revenue should provide more of the money. Finally, the reserve fund is "basically unnecessary in a government plan," because the government "has the power to compel citizens to pay contributions" and can make up deficits through general taxes. The commission is doubtful about the possibility and wisdom of maintaining the capital fund now contemplated.

Non-Catholic Religious Activities. — More than 5,000 delegates attending the International Christian Endeavor convention at Grand Rapids, Mich., saw Dr. Daniel E. Poling, president of Christian Endeavor, award Admiral Richard E. Byrd with the International Youth's Distinguished Service Citation. Addressing the convention on the subject of World Peace, Admiral Byrd prophesied that democracies would pass from the earth unless citizens took more interest in the affairs of their governments. "The lazy man's government," he said, "is the dictatorship, which, at the cost of liberty, relieves the citizen of the necessity of thinking for himself." * * * A plan to provide pensions for employees of the Protestant Episcopal Church who, like other church employees, are excluded from the Federal Social Security System, is being studied by the Church Life Insurance Corporation. The corporation, a subsidiary of the Church Pension Fund, expects to bring out a retirement contract for employees of the Protestant Episcopal Church and its organizations. * * * Newspaper advertising has been a sound investment rather than an expense, in the opinion of the Reverend James W. Fifield, jr., pastor of the First Congregational Church of Los Angeles, who recently announced that during the past year he increased the advertising for his church 300 percent. * * * A program to increase the beauty and utility of churches and church property has been started by the Mormon Church of America. Generous financial aid will be provided by the First Presidency, but it is expected that auxiliary means for the program will be obtained from donations of labor and money, to be solicited locally.

Farmers' Guild.—Organization of a Catholic Farmers' Guild in the historic Cherry Valley district was followed by the first Catholic Farmers' convention in this section of New York State. Although the promotion of Catholic rural life is being pushed in more than fifty dioceses throughout the country, this is the first time the movement has taken concrete form in any of the upstate New York sees. It is expected that the successful inauguration of the local guild will lead to the formation of similar units elsewhere in the East. Reverend Francis J. Gostomski, pastor of St. Thomas Church, Cherry Valley, presided at the session held in the village hall. Father Gostomski is a student of rural problems and has collected considerable literature for the information of the local farmers. They received pamphlets and other literature on rural life and the work being conducted among farmers under Catholic auspices. Laymen spoke on a variety of farm questions, and also on the religious and educational problems of rural districts. The purpose of the Farmers' Guild is to disseminate Catholic doctrine in the rural areas, and help the farmers meet their every-day problems.

Diocesan Library.—At the opening of the scholastic years in September, Most Reverend Edmund J. Fitz-Maurice, Bishop of Wilmington, will inaugurate a diocesan library to disseminate Christian literature and to counteract the evil influence of pernicious books, periodicals and newspapers. The better to insure solidarity and permanency, a constitution will be drawn up, an advisory board from the clergy and laity will be selected, and representatives from each parish will be delegated to make the necessary contacts between the library and its borrowers and patrons. Once a month an annotated book list will be displayed in the vestibule of every church and announced in the local papers. Orders for forthcoming titles may be mailed to the librarian for purchase. Prominent speakers will be invited to conduct book forums. The physical equipment, as well as the administration of the library, will be provided by the Ursuline nuns. Books will be purchased from diocesan funds contributed by annual assessment. In due time, a suitable building will be erected as a memorial to Pope Pius XI, master librarian and bibliophile of Christendom.

Laundry Workers.—A year's survey, conducted by the League of Women Shoppers, Inc., and recently published, reveals that in October, 1936, 73.6 percent of the women employed in the New York City area made less than $15 a week. Of those interviewed, 75 percent shared their wages with others in the family. The median hours for women were 43 a week. More than three-fourths of the men interviewed worked more than 50 hours and often from 60 to 70 hours a week. Condition in most laundries were found to be disastrous to the health of the workers as well as dangerous to consumers. "This industry was selected for investigation," the League states, "because it provides an essential home service, because the lack of check of any labor standards has produced a cut-throat competition which is very injurious to it as a business, and because it involves a great number of workers, the majority women, who have been forced far below an American standard of living. . . . It takes only a slight understanding of social cause and effect to see what a menace to the family health is brought into the home from the unsanitary conditions under which most of these people work." The League recommends minimum wage and hour legislation for both male and female laundry workers, and collective bargaining through trade unions. It encourages all consumers to "use your buying power for justice."

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Communications

A CATHOLIC EDUCATION PROJECT

Las Cruces, N. M.

TO the Editor: In this town 50 percent of the children are baptized Catholics, of whom the overwhelming majority attend the public schools. For this, of course, the usual excuses are brought forward, the same as in any other city, town or village in the United States. However, the one really good reason is that our parochial school is not large enough to take care of more than one-fifth of that number.

Recently a young man, employed all day in a secretarial position, came to me with the suggestion that he undertake a school in his own home during the summer evenings, to keep the small children of his neighborhood from forgetting the English and reading lessons they had learned during the school year, and at the same time work in as much Catholic schooling as possible.

His idea was derived from the catechism classes which some fifteen or sixteen women in the congregation have been holding in their homes daily during the school year, whereby they have given instruction to about 200 children who, through the laxity of parents, would otherwise never have received it.

This plan of a summer night-school struck me as a good one, and I immediately put it up to the young women's group of Catholic Action, and secured several teachers who could and would undertake something of the sort during the evenings, the majority being employed during the day. I cannot ask the regular catechists to do this particular work, as most of them are older women who do not speak English; and one of the objects is to keep the youngsters in practise of the language.

Of course, we have been maintaining the summer religious school since 1929, and the results obtained would be considered excellent under ordinary conditions. However, the 300 to 400 children attending constitute only about a third of the Catholic children in town; and it is the strayed lambs that we are trying to round up for these night classes.

This project is just being tried out, and of course the first thing we have to do is to try to get suitable books. The school books obtainable are not Catholic; and while they are sufficient to keep the children occupied and up with their primary studies, it would be much more efficient if they had simple Bible stories and Catholic primary books generally. This involves an expense which we are ill-able to meet, as the community is not a rich one, and our parish is being strained to the utmost to keep up even the small parochial school. I wonder if any readers of THE COMMONWEAL would be sufficiently interested in the experiment to send us some Catholic books.

This is not an entirely satisfactory substitute for a Catholic school, but it is much better than nothing; and I have every hope that the enthusiasm thus generated may spur our people on to greater efforts for a greater parochial school.

VERY REV. HENRY D. BUCHANAN.

THE AMERICAN NEWSPAPER GUILD

Rutland, Vt.

TO the Editor: In line with your recent crusade for the truth about Spain on the part of the American press, and the subsequent action of the American Newspaper Guild in giving a vote of support to the Spanish government, the problem of joining the Guild becomes a puzzling one to many Catholic newsmen. And yet the Guild is growing, and will continue to grow, with many Catholics in its ranks. Just where those Catholics will eventually be, so far as any control of the body itself is concerned, is a question that should be faced at once.

The *Catholic Worker,* out front as usual, has already sponsored a splendid movement among trade unionists which aims, I think, at bringing about a clarification of thought among Catholics already active in those unions. It is called the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists. Sooner or later the men trained along the lines of the association will be able to exert a sane, directive influence.

Right now more than ever, an Association of Catholic Newspapermen is needed. As members of such a group Catholics who join the Guild will know when to send up a shout of protest.

The recent action of the Catholic Medical Guild points an example of what may have to be done all the way along the line. I would like to see comment on the suggestion.

BRYAN J. DEGNAN.

THE OLD COUNTRY

Middletown, Conn.

TO the Editor: I am writing to express my deep regret that the notice concerning Professor Edmund Curtis's "History of Ireland," printed in THE COMMONWEAL of June 25, was permitted to appear. It seems to me exceedingly unfortunate that a paper of such standards should print an essentially uncritical and vituperative notice on what is generally recognized as the best one-volume history of Ireland yet produced by any scholar, Catholic or Protestant. Although Professor Curtis was unable fully to understand the points of view of Catholics and of native Irishmen, his attempts at scrupulous fairness have borne excellent fruit. Competent Catholic reviewers have, like myself, found the book informing, scholarly, and well written; and have recommended it to Catholic readers. May I also suggest that, to whatever extent Edmund Spenser may have shared in the ignorance and brutal insensibility of too many Elizabethans regarding Ireland, and in the bigotry to which both Catholics and Protestants were addicted in that period, it is strange indeed to see one of the great ornaments of English literature referred to in the pages of THE COMMONWEAL as "that writing spawn."

I write this letter reluctantly; but in the interests of Catholic scholarship and Catholic amenity I urgently request that you will give it space.

HERBERT C. F. BELL, *President,*
American Catholic Historical Association.

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Books

Urbane Satire

The Years, by Virginia Woolf. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.75.

VIRGINIA WOOLF'S first novel in some time is an attempt to set forth in narrative a picture of the difficult adjustments faced by respectable middle-class families in modern London. The story concerns primarily the family of Colonel Pargiter, and as not infrequently happens these people have many relations and near-relations. Their history begins with the years 1880 and 1891, then leaps forward to a series of events between 1907 and 1918, and finally ends in what Mrs. Woolf has been pleased to call The Present.

The novel approaches a philosophy of modern life that is fast becoming extinct: a kind of late-Platonism (as distinct from the neo-Platonism of the esthetes and the decadents) with a mild tincture of social unrest permeating its background. From the time when Colonel Pargiter returns home from an unsatisfactory visit to his self-elected affinity and wonders vaguely when his wife will die, until his descendants begin to wonder vaguely about love and war and peace, one feels that no very satisfactory outlook is vouchsafed them. The children, Millie, Martin and Rose, are typically late-Victorian London middle class, and as they mature Mrs. Woolf uses her narrative powers deftly in order to color her mildly urbane satire of helplessness and uselessness in contemporary life.

The book will undoubtedly be appreciated by those who have witnessed with delight and with very little sorrow the fading and the displacement of Liberal-Tory sympathies among the middle class of London. One cannot help doubting that Americans familiar with the London activities of the English Speaking Union and of similar social organizations will adequately appreciate so veiled a comment as this. For it leaves one with the suspicion that the harmless classes are doomed to gradual self-extinction. But just then the leaves fall, or the tea is brought in, or Rose dons a new pink frock, or the shadowy Delia relates a new bit of current domestic news, and our thoughts, like those of the actors in this slow-moving social drama, are frustrated.

This novel, more than most of Virginia Woolf's, has definite popular appeal; yet the present reviewer cannot help thinking that its significance and its literary merit, as well as its philosophy, have been greatly overestimated.

LLOYD W. ESHLEMAN.

The Tumultuous Sixteenth Century

Luther and His Work, by Joseph Clayton. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company. $2.50.

THE AUTHOR of this introduction to the history of the Reformation seeks "neither to justify nor condone, neither to praise nor reproach the deeds of Catholics and Protestants in that eventful era." He tries merely to explain what happened in the tumultuous sixteenth century to twentieth-century readers—many of whom, doubtless, know little about the Catholic

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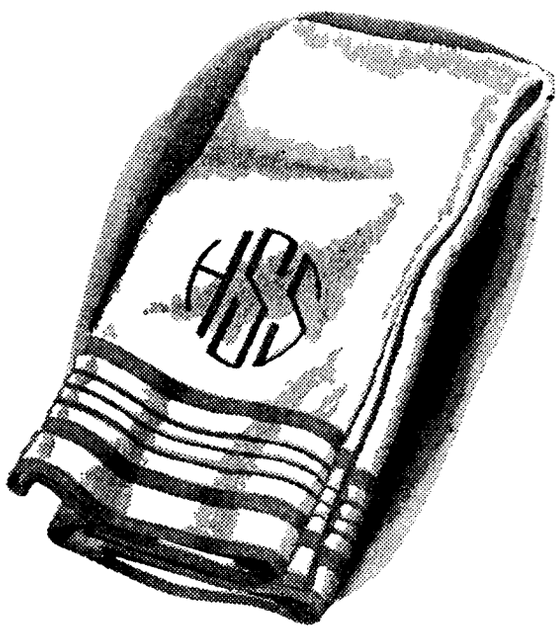

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Church and less about Luther. The bibliography, therefore, contains less than two dozen secondary sources—an invitation to the student to pursue the subject and enlarge his knowledge.

Passing over Luther's early years, Mr. Clayton draws attention to the disabilities under which the Church suffered at the beginning of the sixteenth century—a worldly and aloof episcopate, an ill-instructed clergy, a laity but scantily conversant with the rudiments of Christian faith and morals. Luther, however, was not incited by the abuses he saw around him to become a reformer. His principal trouble was fear—fear that he had offended God or that he might offend Him. The *feeling* that one was saved became for the Wittenberg monk the one thing needful. In the writings of Saint Augustine and Saint Paul he thought he found the solution to the problems that disturbed his troubled mind. He began to preach justification by faith alone, and the discouragement of good works. His lectures on St. Paul's Epistles to the Romans and Galatians mark the first public statement of the new theology of the Protestant Reformation.

The principal events between Luther's challenge to the booming of indulgences by Tetzel and the disastrous Peace of Augsburg are briefly outlined. While the part played in the conflict by Anabaptists receives due attention, something more might have been said on the subject of the Turkish advance under Suleyman the Magnificent and the intrigues of the French King, Francis I. A chapter is devoted to Calvin's development of Luther's doctrine and the extension of Lutheranism in Scandinavian countries, another to the Catholic reform, and a third to the Counter-Reformation. Mr. Clayton then weighs Luther's work in the balance and concludes that Protestantism, as other human uprisings, passes away; but the permanence of the Church is guaranteed by God and so will endure until the end of time.

I think Mr. Clayton has succeeded very well in the limited but difficult task he set for himself. Vigilance is the lesson of history, and particularly the lesson to be derived from the calamitous events of four hundred years ago. For history teaches us that "men and women unwatching, off their guard, and unforeseeing, accomplish profound changes for good and evil."

JOHN J. O'CONNOR.

Ethical Problems

Business Ethics, by Frank Chapman Sharp and Philip G. Fox. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. $2.25.

THE AUTHORS in their modest-appearing little book explain to the tired business man and the professional worker the importance of ethical problems of the day and that their problems have an ethical solution and basis. Such puzzles as taxes, fair price, fair wage and bargaining are looked into and the answer outlined. The real value of this handbook for the layman is that it draws attention to the ethical basis of problems of trade and government and that it is a defense of a flexible, humane, capitalistic and competitive system.

At the start of the recital of what is right and wrong there is a definition of competition. Competition is fair. It does not mean that one party injures another when he puts through a deal with a third party. Competition is just when the decision is made because of the greater merit of the product or services chosen and when the rivalry is open. In this way a fair price or wage is one that is set freely in the open market and given to the one offering the most to the buyer. The explanation of what is an open, not deceiving, practise is made when the individual problems are brought up. The tone of the book appears at first glance to be in favor of undiluted laissez-faire, yet the authors qualify their definitions very markedly. For example, there is a note in the Appendix on the justice of a legal minimum wage.

Here are the defects of the competitive system regarding prices and wages. First, chance plays a greater part in our economic system than it should and, second, "our economic system permits the workers to reap the advantages of their intellectual ability as well" as industrial or productive ability. By this defect the authors must mean that wealth may be made by using one's faculties to work against the capitalistic system. Another defect is the unequal distribution of wealth.

For a remedy, the authors depend on the morality of the business and professional man. The example of some 150 voluntary associations of industries who have formed under the supervision of the Federal Trade Commission codes of fair competition is given. The authors are well versed in their field and their guide is a convincing one.

GEORGE K. MCCABE.

Washington's "Society"

Capital Kaleidoscope, by Frances Parkinson Keyes. New York: Harper and Brothers. $3.50.

AROUND Reconstruction days there was an instrument that went with horsehair furniture, the family photograph album, the Bible and the kerosene lamp on every sitting-room table. It was a kaleidoscope, a series of small mirrors inside a cardboard tube, in front of which bits of colored glass arranged themselves by reflection into cathedral windows, as you turned the tube.

Washington's "society" is kaleidoscopic only in the sense of rapid and irregular change but not in the least in the sense of cathedral window-patterns. There is no Washington society if by that anything crystallized or permanent is meant. Society requires standards, a center and an accepted arbiter. Occasionally the White House has taken that position. Frequently, foreign diplomats have attempted to define who "belongs" and who does not, which is an impertinence. Often, newly arrived individuals have tried to set a tone of their own. Always there have been circles or groups centering around particular "hostesses." The chief assets of a new hostess are her cook below stairs and her social secretary above. With that setting, "anecdotes" collect live leaves in a backeddy, and a book of recollections becomes possible. If a hostess happens to be an unusually attractive personality herself, as Mrs. Calvin Coolidge is, and as all her friends

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say that Mrs. Keyes is, then she is truly a "hostess" and a center. Her memory lives in spite of changes. And if she writes down her anecdotes and keeps a sense of proportion and a light humor, her book is likely to be a true picture and pleasant reading, as this one is. What may be said about people is difficult. It can be offensive, or merely dull if one be overcareful. It depends on skill as well as standards. Mrs. Keyes has done it well.

WILLIAM FRANKLIN SANDS.

Landed Aristocracy

Deep Summer, by Gwen Bristow. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. $2.00.

TRAVELING down the Mississippi, staid New England meets the frivolous South. Miss Bristow brings this budding romance through a decade in which Louisiana was ruled first by the French then the Spanish and finally by the United States. In their trials and happiness, Judith Sheramy and Philip Larne go hand in hand, always striving toward their goal of building a dynasty for their descendants to carry on. This they achieve in the form of a landed aristocracy, through the cultivation of the early indigo and tobacco plantations, and later by trade in sugar and cotton. The book shows the contrast between the poor whites, who were forced into that position by slave labor, and the owners of the plantations, who enjoyed luxury through that wageless labor. Miss Bristow, herself of the South, is writing a second novel about the nineteenth-century descendants of her first book. This romance promises well for the next.

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